NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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TWO REASONS WHY CIVIL RIGHTS DIE IN THE SENATE
While the President improved his golf game in Georgia, Sen. Herman Talmadge (l.), the Peach State's most recent contribution to the national blight huddled with Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia in the capital. For news of how the Negroes feel about all this, see below.

97 LEADERS RENEW PLEA

Ike's silence on violence scored in Negro press

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER "has plenty of time to play golf in Dixie" but no time to speak out against "the reign of terror being visited upon" Negroes living there.

Following that opening blast, the Baltimore **Afro-American** (2/9) in a page-1 story told its 45,000 readers that the man it had urged them to reelect "cannot do it" when Negro leaders ask him to plead with white Southerners to uphold the law. The reference was to a request to the President by 60 leading Negroes from 29 communities in 10 Southern states. They met in Atlanta on Jan. 10-11 to discuss non-violent methods of achieving integration. They asked that:

- The President make a speech in a major Southern city urging all white persons to accept and abide by the U.S. Supreme Court anti-jimcrow decisions as the law of the land.
- The Vice President tour the South as he had toured Europe "on behalf of Hungarian refugees."
- The U.S. Attorney General confer with leaders of the Negro people on the Justice Dept.'s responsibility in maintaining order in areas where Negro and white citizens are threatened for asserting their rights.

"AMAZING DESERTION": The Pittsburgh **Courier**, which also wholeheartedly backed Mr. Eisenhower in the election campaign, said in a page-1 editorial that the President's rejection of the invitation "amounts to an amazing desertion of not only the welfare of some 17 million Negroes but also of all [other] Americans who believe in law and order."

The **Courier** printed a half-page of interviews headlined: "What Negro Leaders Say On Ike's Refusal to Visit Troubled Areas."

In Philadelphia, the City Council unanimously adopted a memorial presented by Negro member Raymond Pace Alexander. It asked the President to proclaim, as in the case of Korea: "I will go to Alabama"; "I will go to Georgia . . ."

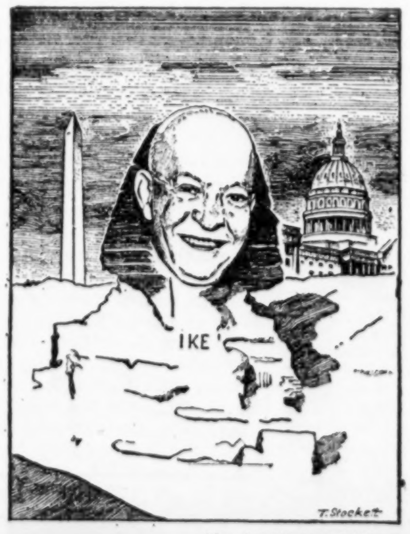
BACK AT THE RANCH: Meanwhile, the President—riding in the same plane which took him to Korea just after his 1952 election—went to Georgia—but to play golf and shoot quail for some days. During this week of fun, the Georgia legislature did these things:

- Resolved that the 14th and 15th Amendments be declared null and void. (The 14th declares that "no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property except by due process of law." The 15th says that "no state shall deprive any person of the right to vote because of race, color or previous condition of servitude.")
- Demanded that U.S. Chief Justice Warren and Associate Justices Black, Clark, Douglas, Frankfurter and Reed be impeached for "high crimes and misdemeanors."
- Moved to outlaw interracial athletics.

The President on the seventh day spoke out. He said he was enjoying his quail-hunting and golfing so much that he would stay a few days longer.

A SECOND PLEA: In New Orleans, at that moment, 97 Negro leaders from 10 Southern states were dispatching to him a second plea. Signed by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., it asked the President to reconsider his refusal to speak out against "the breakdown of law and order." Either that, the message said, or he must be prepared for a march on Washington by thousands of Negro and white persons from North and South.

An exclamation point was provided a few hours later in the form of a dynamite explosion in the Negro section of Clinton, Tenn. A woman and a child were injured.



Afro-American, Baltimore
Silence no substitute for statesmanship

WAR & PEACE

Soviet aims to neutralize Middle East, Central Europe to break cold war front

By Tabitha Petran
UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE U.S.S.R.'s answer to the Eisenhower Doctrine and the rapid equipment of U.S. bases abroad with atomic and hydrogen weapons is a broad diplomatic initiative aiming at the neutralization of the Middle East and Central Europe. Diplomats here believe it will not be easily dismissed.

The Soviet initiative coincided with intensified Western efforts to hold together the Western alliance in the pattern of the cold war. The U.S.S.R. has thereby assured discussion of its proposals when President Eisenhower meets with French Premier Mollet this month in Washington and with British Prime Minister Macmillan next month in Bermuda.

The Soviet diplomatic moves included:

- The speech of then Foreign Minister Shepilov before the Supreme Soviet on Feb. 10. It emphasized coexistence, proposed a world economic conference this year to expand trade. (Shepilov was succeeded by career diplomat Andrei Gromyko a few days later.)
- **Notes to the U.S., Britain and France proposing the neutralization and—so far as the big powers are concerned—demilitarization of the Middle East.**
- **Premier Bulganin's letter to Chancellor Adenauer suggesting more trade and Soviet-W. German discussions on disarmament.**

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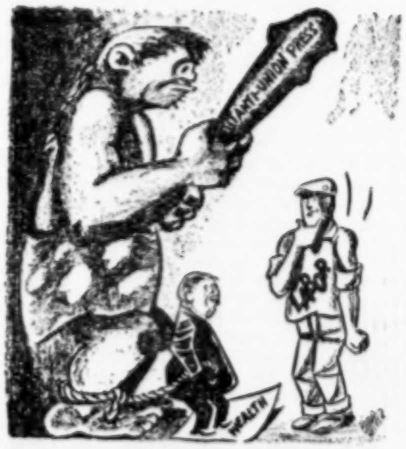
THE ANSWER LOOKS LIKE 'NO'

Do America's unions want a daily labor newspaper?

EVER SINCE the founding of the modern U.S. labor movement, many of its leaders have dreamed of a national daily labor newspaper. On Sept. 16, 1952, the Intl. Typographical Union, on its own, founded such a paper, the first of its kind in the country's history. Last week the paper was threatened with extinction—for lack of support from the 15,000,000-strong merged labor movement.

On Jan. 22 this year the paper published a four-page insert asking: "Do American unions want a daily labor newspaper?" The answer seemed to be "No." It was reported that ITU president Woodruff Randolph had written to 136 international union presidents asking comment on this statement: "After four years of publishing a daily labor newspaper called **Labor's Daily**, we conclude that the labor movement does not want such a paper."

SLIM RETURNS: Seventy-nine of those addressed didn't even bother to answer. Of the 57 who did reply, 24 agreed that the labor movement didn't want a daily paper; 21 thought it did, or should; 12 had no opinion. Forty-four had favorable comments for the paper; only four were unfavorable; nine expressed no opinion. But even the staunchest supporters dodged the key question of financial help.



Labor's Daily

When **Labor's Daily** was first set up in Charleston, W. Va. (it now publishes in a brand-new plant built by the ITU in Bettendorf, Ia.), the staffs of all international unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions and all members of Congress were put on the subscription list free of charge. In his letter Randolph revealed that paid subscribers have never been more than 3,000. Total circulation today, including free subscriptions, is about 12,000.

RE-WRITE THE STORY: On Jan. 30 the AFL-CIO executive council meeting in Miami Beach grudgingly allotted a

(Continued on Page 9)

Belfrage in Africa

Cedric Belfrage, the Guardian's Editor-in-Exile, will cover the inauguration of the new state of Ghana, on Africa's West Coast, on the spot. Watch for his exciting dispatches.

NOTICE

This month a large class of subscriptions fall due, and carry a red address label. If your address label reads February '57 or earlier your sub is in this category. It would be extremely helpful if you renewed NOW.

- **To renew for one year mail address label with $3 to address below. Label is on back of this coupon or on wrapper.**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Washington, Feb. 11 — Higher rates for natural gas are "in the public interest," the Federal Power Commission was told today by the Phillips Petroleum Company.

H. K. Hudson, an attorney for Phillips, indicated that his company wanted to increase its net return from gas sales by more than $14,700,000 over the 1954 level of $42,500,000.

In view of the "great need for continued exploration," he said, "it is imperative in the public interest" that some of Phillips' lower rates be increased.

N.Y. Times, Feb. 12

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Montgomery Schuyler, Brooklyn, N.Y. Be sure to send original clip with each entry.

THE MAIL BAG
USM

"Subversive" lists

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I'm curious to know how much tax money is wasted getting out these "subversive" lists, such as the House Un-American Committee list. It would involve payment to "investigators" and informers, cost of paper, postage and printing, press releases, un-American Congressional junkets, public and private inquisitions, rentals of various rooms and buildings in addition to the regular offices used, to say nothing of the time of the Congressmen, attorneys, Attorneys General and staffs. To say nothing of the time wasted by readers of the press into which such "lists" are poured at regular intervals.

Oakley C. Johnson.

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BRONX, N.Y.

Is it the duty of the Congress to take over the function of the courts in judging, without trial and conviction, those whom they consider subversive organizations?

Does it add to the dignity of our legislative branch of the government for some of its members to be engaged in the business of outright slander?

Is it not the duty of the Congress to uphold the true dignity of our sovereign people by putting an end to nefarious schemes of petty legislators to use their high office for the degradation of people who do not conform with their way of thinking?

Miriam Stern

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

This listing only served to make me more conscious of my tardiness and furnished me the necessary impetus to add my name as a sustainer. In addition to whatever sporadic contributions I have been able to make to our paper, I wish to to be put down for two bucks a month as my affirmation of support for the GUARDIAN. As for the un-Americans, this too shall pass.

Ronny Schiffrin

Exception noted

BALTIMORE, MD.

Congratulations to you and to Anna Louise Strong for her article on Hungary. I wish, however, that you had not republished the horrible picture of "lynching." We know that thousands of people were killed in Hungary: does a corpse dangling in front of us help us to an understanding of the level at which Miss Strong is writing? **E.H.**

Who's blundering

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

What would these so-called "leftists" want Russia to do—wait until it was all over and then be sorry she had not stopped the fascists when it was possible? Russia made a revolution, carried it through and still carries on as a socialist state. As such she makes it possible for these damned fools to even consider the question of possible "blunders" in handling the Hungarians. Sure Russia had made mistakes, and she probably will make more. But I hope she will never make the big blunder of trusting the capitalist nations to play fair. **J. T.**

Inconceivable, backward

BRONX, N.Y.

I was horrified when I read the article about Jewish culture in the Soviet Union and the more shocking anti-Semitic arguments made by the head of the ruling party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev. It is inconceivable that 39 years after the overthrow of Czarism anti-Semitic arguments should come from the mouth of one of the outstanding leaders of the Soviet Union. Imagine an official of the U.S. making similar arguments about the Jews or any other minority group.

I am talking to all my friends to become readers of the GUARDIAN. I never throw the paper away but make sure that at least four or five people read it. May I urge the steady readers to do the same.

Robert Lee

For Elvis

GRANGER, WASH.

I have noticed two letters and one article recently in the GUARDIAN ridiculing Elvis Presley and country or hill-billy music.

Just how nasty can some people get? Music is purely a matter of preference and choice. If these writers prefer opera or classical music that is their right. But if the teen-ager or older person prefers rock 'n' roll and Presley, that is their right. His music is much better listening than a lot of the chatter that clutters up the airwaves and TV screens. Much of the drivel on Sunday is pure superstition and fanaticism. I prefer Presley.

Eugene Smith

Drouth report

DURANGO, COLO.

Thot I would give you a report on drouth conditions in this part of Colorado (La Plata County). Those who have good water rights have fair crops, though they are few and far between. The rest of us, all we have is a bunch of hungry stock. The drouth committee in Denver sent a man over here to look the situation over. All he did was drive over the highways and visit the town like a tourist; he never saw the farms and ranches at all, went back to Denver and reported that this was no disaster area. That gave the counties in the eastern part of the state the advantage of us. They came here and bought all the surplus feed.

We held a drouth meeting, and was that a frantic bunch of stockmen and farmers! I am in hope it woke them up to the point where they can see what kind of men our tax money is being used to represent us. Wish I was a Hungarian instead of a taxpayer.

Well, I joined the Farmers Union while at the drouth meeting.

Durango Dan

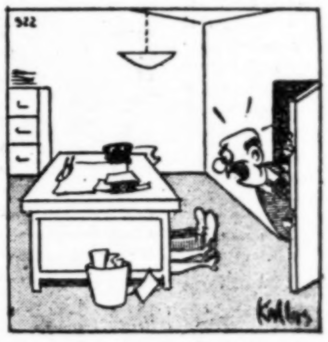
Lincoln Party

ELCHO, WISC.

We propose to start a new political party in every one of the 48 states of the Union. It shall be known as the Lincoln Party, to represent the votes of the common man. Let us vote for ourselves and let us upset for all time the instinct of the millionaires that this contrary was made for them, and that their restraining laws shall keep the people in subjection. Let us turn them out. Let us inaugurate a new government "of the people, by the people and for the people," now and for all time.

Interested? Write.

W.A. Maertz



OCA Union News, Denver

"All right, you two, back to work! The civil defense air raid test was over an hour ago!"

Moon over Moscow

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Frank Anderson let the cat out of the bag in your How Crazy Dept. (4/30/56) in view of events which began to occur in October, 1956 (although he tried to cover up with astrological nonsense.)

J.W.

In a speech to General Electric engineers in Syracuse, N.Y., early last year, the head of Anderson Laboratories set Oct. 19 as the date of "a small relaxation of control by Moscow or a major revolt beyond the Iron Curtain." He said he based his prediction on Dow Jones stock market averages in relation to the position of the moon. —Ed.

For the Wellmans

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

By some miracle of moral and spiritual fortitude, in this unpromising atmosphere, Saul and Peggy Wellman brought up not two average adolescents but two very exceptional young folk, both of whom have won medals. Thanks to their parents, one day as adults David and Vicky Wellman will be numbered among those junior citizens whom we regard as the salt of the earth and the hope of our country's future. But should Peggy Wellman be deported and Saul have to go to jail as a Smith Act victim, this devoted family will be broken up. A boy and a girl will be wounded in their deepest sensibilities by the purposeless cruelty American injustice visited on them. They will inevitably become bitter and disillusioned.

Do I need to remind fellow readers that Defense lawyers cost money? Please contribute to the Wellman defense fund, if it be only a token of concern and indignation. At least drop a line to Mrs. Peggy Wellman c/o Carl Haessler, 920 Charlevoix Building, Detroit 26, Michigan.

Muriel Symington

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the progressive newsweekly

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REPORT TO READERS

Fun in Moscow

IF YOU ARE 35 OR YOUNGER and tourist-minded, or if you know anybody else who is, then you will be interested in the details sent us by a Chicago friend of what he calls "the damnedest bargain in the history of tourism."

The event is the Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in Moscow July 28-Aug. 11. The "damnedest bargain" referred to is the over-all cost in the U.S.S.R.—including transportation, tickets to the Bolshoi, housing, meals and the choice of a whole raft of other attractions—of $2 a day for the duration of the Festival.

Getting there and back can be something of a bargain too. For all details we suggest you write to the Midwest Festival Committee, Room 403, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 2 (see ad on p. 11), but here is what we know now:

A CHARTERED AIRLINE, Flying Tiger, will fly a DC-6 full (100 passengers) from Chicago to London and back for $290 a head. From London, a British group has made plans for round-trips to Moscow (including the above $2 a day) for $131.60. This makes a total all-inclusive cost of $421.60, leaving Chicago July 20, returning Aug. 15—provided 100 passengers fly.

One such charter flight is already scheduled for 30 passengers so it takes only 70 more to get the biggest bargain. The charter plane would stop at N.Y. for East Coast participants. On standard flights, Icelandic Airlines has a round-trip to Glasgow for $508.60. This added to the round-trip cost from Britain comes to $640.20. Other plans are being investigated, including travel with Canadian delegations.

WHAT THE FESTIVAL OFFERS would take this whole page to tell in full. In summary, there are competitions in artistic pursuits (vocal & instrumental music for soloists, duets, etc., and bands up to 15, including harmonica players; classical and folk dance; pantomime, plastic arts, photography, films and music composition); and sports including track and field, free-style wrestling, swimming, cycling, weightlifting, etc., including table-tennis for men and women. This competition is heralded as second only to the Olympics.

The Festival will use the entire campus of the new Moscow University and will draw participants from upwards of 80 countries. The last previous one was held in Warsaw in 1955; earlier ones in other Eastern European countries. Moscow anticipates an attendance of 30,000.

ALL U.S. PASSPORTS are now good for travel in the U.S.S.R. If you have a passport, well and good. If you have to get one, better start applying now. As for visas, they take about 12 weeks via the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

The State Dept. reiterated as recently as Feb. 16 that it imposes no passport barrier to travel in the U.S.S.R. It said this in the course of denying that it had barred the U.S. amateur hockey championship team from participating in the world championships in Moscow, Feb. 24. The N.Y. *Times* explained it this way:

"The expenses of the U.S. team are partly borne by the State Dept. The Department advised the men that it did not want to spend money on sending a team to the Soviet Union."

On being so advised, according to a State Dept. spokesman, "the U.S. players then decided against going."

WELL, WE DON'T MEAN TO IMPLY that the State Dept. will go into transports over a nationwide flow of American youth to the Moscow Festival this summer; we merely point out that they do not bar such travel unless you're expecting them to pick up the expense check.

Moreover, there is a move afoot—started by a Chicago ballet dancer named Barbara Perry who wants to shake a leg in Moscow competition—to have the Festival officially recognized by the U.S. She has written to Secy. of State Dulles and to Charles E. Wilson (the People-to-People Foundation Inc. one, not the hound-dog one) suggesting this, and recalling a recent speech of Wilson's about melting the iron curtain and showing friendship for the people behind it.

We'll let you know how she makes out. **—THE GUARDIAN**

300 DELEGATES IN A 4-DAY MEETING IN NEW YORK

What happened at the CP convention

By Elmer Bendiner

FROM SATURDAY MORNING, Feb. 9, to late Tuesday evening, Feb. 12, a corps of newsmen representing the nation's biggest dailies, wire services and television networks waited in a grimy, smoke-filled pressroom in the Chateau Gardens, a hall for meetings, dances and catered affairs on Manhattan's lower east side.

In the meeting hall the 16th convention of the U.S. Communist Party was deciding an internal conflict that reflected all the contending elements unleashed on the left since Nikita Khrushchev's "revelations" concerning Stalin. Reporters clamored for copies of every resolution and clustered about CP press representatives for briefings. Unaccustomed to the references in the debate at the Chateau Gardens, the reporters tried to piece together a blow-by-blow account of the fight based on positions taken by the delegates on philosophy and economics. As if in torture, one columnist cried out: "What on earth is the relative impoverishment of the masses?"

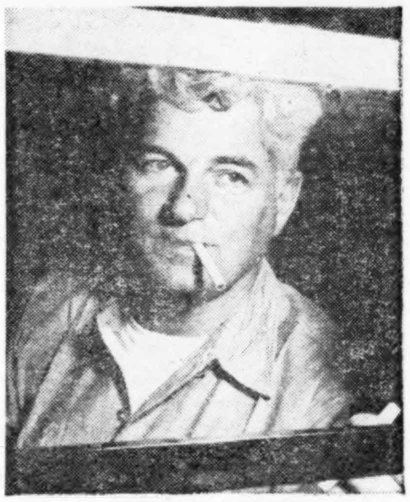
THE MEN IN CARS: The 300-odd delegates from 34 states had decided to bar newsmen as a security measure to protect their jobs, pernaps their liberty. Reporters repeatedly protested the "violations" of a free press and free speech; but outside the Chateau Gardens in two cars with motors running were well-dressed men commonly assumed to be from the FBI.

The CP had opened the convention to a delegation of observers from the American Civil Liberties Union, the **Catholic Worker,** a number of pacifist organizations, some clergymen. Among those attending were Rev. A. J. Muste, secy. emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Dr. Stringfellow Barr, former president of St. John's College, and Rev. John Paul Jones of the Bay Ridge Protestant Church in Brooklyn. Only a few of the observers—from the A.C.L.U.—came by the pressroom to hold informal briefings.

For the most part the reporters relied on the documents of the convention and the ample briefings from the CP press committee for details of the debate, the votes, the trends of delegate thinking. The press which, up to the convention had treated the Communists either as unimportant stooges or as dangerous conspirators, found themselves covering a genuinely wide open convention.

ABANDONED POSITIONS: There was no doubt that the delegates ran the convention. Committees came in after days of wrangling with majority and minority reports. The floor debate was often angry, sometimes bitter. Venerated leaders found they had no weight to throw. Authoritative voices within the U.S. CP or from overseas were heard but not followed. Some called it a runaway convention. The question, after days and nights of debate, was: Where were the delegates running? Where had they taken their leaders?

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
Beware the Rightists


EUGENE DENNIS
The middle man

It was easier to see what positions the delegates had abandoned than to define their new positions. They officially discarded hallowed phrases such as "monolithic unity" and "democratic centralism," declaring that such concepts had stifled "independent and creative thinking, destroyed initiative and helped bureaucracy to flourish."

They wrote into a new constitution the right to dissent so long as a member "does not engage in factional or other activity which hinders or impedes the execution" of a policy voted by the majority. They called for room in the CP press and at meetings for the expression of dissenting views.

NO MORE VANGUARD: They asserted the right of the CP of the U.S. to interpret Marxism-Leninism for itself in the light of "American class struggle, democratic traditions and customs." A resolution offered by educational director Max Weiss, and carried overwhelmingly, called for a break with the past when "we tacitly assumed that the interpretation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism made by the CP of the Soviet Union was ipso facto valid, and all we had to do was to creatively apply their interpretations to our conditions."

Another phrase that tottered in the rebellion was "vanguard role," a role hitherto claimed by the CP. The delegates resolved: "A Marxist party which seeks to gain the confidence of its class cannot do so by arrogantly assuming that it is **already** the leader of the workers . . . the term 'vanguard role' has assumed connotations of unrealism and arrogance with which we seek to break."

THE PARTY REMAINS: No resolution on the Soviet treatment of Jews was made public, but unofficial sources reported that the matter was fully debated and a resolution highly critical of Soviet policy and statements on the matter was passed.

The question of dissolving the CP into a Communist Political Assn. was compromised by state meetings before the national convention which resolved to maintain the CP but leave the door open for future discussion of an association.

Unopposed by any delegates were commitments to achieve socialism "by majority will and peaceful means." But left for future interpretations of Marxism were the concepts of "dictatorship of the proletariat" and whether or not the State was a means of suppression. The delegates felt they had opened their own new road to socialism, but no one at the Chateau Gardens felt up to charting that road in detail.

All were seemingly agreed that third-party talk and action right after World War II had been "leftist" and had isolated progressives in the labor movement. The labor resolution said: "Our inflexible insistence on the adoption of a third party perspective and a condemnation of the Marshall Plan facilitated the objectives of the cold war splitters."

ATTITUDE ON LABOR: The resolution blamed such "left-sectarian errors" for making possible the expulsion of left-led unions from the CIO in 1949. The self-criticism continued: "We Communists failed to pursue policies after the expulsions that could have led in the least possible time to re-unification." The resolution did not spell out what those policies might be or how flexible the approach should be now, but it unreservedly acclaimed the AFL-CIO merger and called for "all-embracing unity."

The all-embracing quality of that unity was the one aspect that stirred debate. There were some who balked at a paragraph demanding freedom from the "frozen political geography of 'left', 'right' and 'center' " in evaluating labor leaders and trends. The resolution called for a "fluid" view of leaders, supporting or opposing each one on specific issues without attaching a stigma to any. It was a break, one delegate said, with the past practice of picket-line chants about "a no-good union, a company union." It was part of a new approach not only to labor leaders but to "social democrats," summed up in a phrase: "'cooperation not liquidation."

ON NEGRO FREEDOM: A resolution for "full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people" termed Negro freedom "the crucial domestic issue of the day." It criticized the party's past work for "doctrinaire concepts . . . hangovers . . . outmoded practices . . . sectarian method and style . . . abstentionism." It called for a "reassessment . . . of our previously asserted theoretical position."

Though the resolution did not closely describe past failings, it was reliably reported that the debate centered around the old concept of nationhood for Negroes in certain Southern areas. The champions of that theory were overwhelmed. "Reassessment" carried the day on that score as on most others in the convention.

FOSTER'S POSITION: The debate was generally bitter, although the main contending camps began by supporting in general the draft resolution and constitution before the convention. William Z. Foster, national chairman up to convention time, called on the delegates in a keynote address to "cleanse . . . convention documents of the various revisionist conceptions." He charged that the **Daily Worker** staff, under editor John Gates, and the N.Y. State committee of the CP had become "Rights" or people who "ran political interference for the Right" which threatened "the life of the Party."

He called the "Rightists" the "political descendants of Lovestone opportunism." In a sense Foster, againg and suffering from an ailing heart, after a lifetime of service t othe CP, was defending his record. He admitted to errors but said that the "Right" was wrong in blaming the decline in the CP's membership (now officially given as 25,000) on the leadership. "Objective conditions" were mainly responsible. He saw himself and his embattled colleagues defending "our basic Marxist theory and the very existence of our party."

VOICES FROM ABROAD: If that was so, then Foster lost far more than prestige in the battle of resolutions, for in almost every case he was voted down by close to a 2-1 majority. He had with him many of the party stalwarts. His opening speech was read by former N.Y. City Councilman and Smith Act victim Benjamin Davis Jr., who acted as Foster's lieutenant throughout. Foster himself rarely spoke. In most cases he was listened to but not followed.

Foster also had support for his position from overseas. **Sovietska Rossiya** of Moscow, before the convention opened, supported Foster's point of view and criticized the trend headed by the **Daily Worker** and Gates as "national communism," threatening to "divide and conquer" the Communist movement. Jacques Duclos of the French CP, remembered for an earlier letter that signaled Earl Browder's fall, greeted the convention in terms heavily favoring the Foster view.

A NEW COMMITTEE: But many delegates, eager to demonstrate their independence, apparently felt impelled to defy the Russians and French as well as Foster. They took the road outlined by the veteran California Communist William Schneiderman who said the CP would have to take the free-wheeling approach of the **Daily Worker** editors "if it is to continue as more than a mere sect."

Delegates took the floor to condemn past failures to criticize the Soviet Union though "other Socialists did and we didn't listen to them." In vain leaders warned that the convention was in "danger of making the Soviet Union the main target of attack," that the convention was guilty of "isolationism of the worst kind" in telling other parties not to "butt into our business."

JOHN GATES
Beware the Leftists

In the end the convention decided to elect no new officers. They balloted for 20 members-at-large of a new National Committee. It was a "unity" slate, with Foster placing seventh in order of votes received, Eugene Dennis (who had taken a position somewhere in the middle of the controversy) sixth and Gates 16th.

SHIFT IN HEADQUARTERS: By the end of March state conventions are to elect 40 more delegates to the National Committee, which will then name seven of their number to direct the party until another convention next year. In the meantime the committee members in New York were to act as a steering committee, though the full committee is to be consulted on major policy decisions.

The convention voted to shift its headquarters from New York to Chicago by way of getting closer to the heartland of the nation's workers.

That was perhaps the least of the shifts decided upon. In its 36th year the American CP had embarked on a brand new road. Foster and the older leaders who rallied around him had held to a neatly-described philosophy, a view of history and a predictable tactical approach. But membership and influence under that leadership had unmistakably fallen to a new low.

The rebels who won had the vigor of sharp dissent and the heady air of a new perspective. But when the convention ended they had done no more than decide to hit the road. What they had left behind was plain to see. It was still too soon to be sure where they were going.

Soviet arms

(Continued from Page 1)

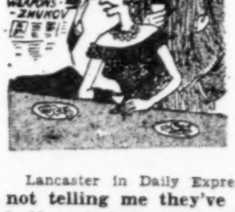
- An effort to bring before the UN charges of "U.S. aggressive acts constituting a threat to peace and security."

INDIGNANT DULLES: By far the most important of these moves was the Soviet program for neutralization of the Middle East. Paris' **Le Monde,** although piqued that the U.S.S.R. should "demand of the colonial powers adherence to the principles of Bandung," conceded that neutralization under a Big Four guarantee was "the most seductive formula of any hitherto advanced," and required "serious negotiations" among the Big Four.

Reaction in Washington was outrage. State Dept. officials said unofficially "there was not a point in the program that offered real promise of solving Middle East problems" (N.Y. **Times,** 2/13). The White House and State Dept., as Joseph C. Harsch reported in the **Christian Science Monitor,** rejected it "before they had even read the full text." Unofficial comment saw the Soviet program as "a barefaced attempt to spike the Eisenhower Doctrine."

At UN, few could believe Washington was so naive as to think it could move massively into an area on the Soviet frontiers, where the U.S.S.R. has a legitimate security interest, without provoking a Soviet reaction. Washington's anger seemed rather a gauge of the widespread appeal of the Soviet proposals. For the policy of neutralization serves the best national interests of all countries concerned, including the U.S., as Walter Lippmann has repeatedly pointed out. But the Eisenhower Doctrine, as Lippmann has emphasized, forces the Middle East states to take sides in the cold war when "what the Arab countries really want is to be neutral in the cold war." And he added that "what we really want [i.e. our national interest] is that they should remain neutral rather than align themselves with the Soviet Union."

STRONG SUPPORT: The Soviet "hands off" proposals for the Middle East, and its program for unconditional economic aid, are almost identical with earlier proposals made by Egypt, Syria and India, and unquestionably will command strong support from many of the Bandung powers. Recognizing this, the British Government "was not inclined to reject the Russian proposals out of hand" (**NYT,** 2/13). Even Washington, said the **Christian Science Monitor,** "may conclude it has to go through the motions of negotiations. . ."



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"You're not telling me they've got anything half as lethal as Mr. Dulles!"

NINE HEADS ARE BETTER THAN ONE

Delegates huddle during luncheon break after UN Political Committee meeting. The four faces visible belong to delegates (l.) Monem Rifai of Jordan, Toshikazu Kase of Japan, Charles Malik of Lebanon and Mohamed Jemali of Iraq.

For neutralization and a halt to arms deliveries also have supporters in this country. Eleanor Roosevelt, commenting on the U.S. agreement to arm Saudi Arabia, wrote: "I would much rather see an agreement reached between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. against supplying military equipment to any country . . . I wonder if we would not be at a greater advantage by reaching an agreement whereby the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. would not provide any military power or possess any in this area."

Sen. Fulbright said in the Senate: "I think a moratorium on all arms would be more appropriate than a program of arming everybody."

BASIC CONTRADICTION: The Soviet proposals, wrote Harsch, have "not been presented on a take it or leave it basis." Their effect would be "to stabilize the military situation on a level roughly equal to the one which prevailed before Communist arms were sold to Egypt," and hence to "leave Israel capable of defending itself. . ." In his view, the "quid pro quo," demanded by the Soviet Union —dismantling of U.S. bases in the area— was not unacceptable since Dharhan, the most important, was "not of major military importance."

Eventual Four Power negotiations on the Middle East were seen at the UN as virtually inescapable, especially so because of the tension created by Israel's refusal to withdraw from Egyptian territory. After the U.S. offer of guarantees, Israel had appeared to be "on the threshold of a substantial diplomatic victory . . . built in part on skillful public relations and in part on powerful allies in the U.S. Congress" (**CSM,** 2/13). But Israel's rejection of the U.S. plan tried even the patience of its supporters, and led some to conclude that it had "overplayed its hand."

Yet so long as the U.S. remains unwilling to enforce sanctions, Israel seemed likely to continue to defy the UN. Since the Arab states know Washington could force Israel's withdrawal, its failure to do so undermines its campaign to pull these states into the anti-Soviet coalition. In the view of some UN diplomats, this basic contradiction in U.S. policy in itself shows the need for negotiations and a new approach.

CHARGES STRIKE HOME: The Soviet demand for UN consideration of what it called "U.S. aggressive acts" was also presented as an argument for neutrality. Although the UN refused it, the U.S.S.R.'s presentation of the demand underlined the seriousness with which it views recent U.S. moves. The determined Western effort to ridicule the Soviet charges, treat them with contempt, and bury them as quickly as possible suggested that some had struck home. In fact, many respectable people in the West, starting from different premises and arriving at different conclusions, have voiced smiilar views.

One can compare Soviet delegate Kuznetzov's claim that the U.S.S.R. has no aggressive intentions in the Middle East with a N.Y. **Herald Tribune** report from Washington that "a blanket of American military protection is about to descend over many nations in the Middle East against a danger of Communist aggression that, in the words of Adm. Radford, is neither imminent nor, at the present time, foreseeable."

His assertion that the Eisenhower Doctrine is warlike and dangerous was matched by similar and much stronger assertions by Democratic Senators (who nonetheless approved the Doctrine in Senate Committee with only hair-splitting changes in phraseology).

And Kuznetsov's declaration that U.S. bases encircling the U.S.S.R. are aggressive and pointed at the heart of his country can be compared with the testimony of U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff Twining to the Symington Committee: ". . . the information we get indicates that the Soviets are very much worried about this ring of bases of ours . . . I often think that I would hate to see our country . . . rimmed with three or four hundred Russian bases in Canada and Mexico. It would be a pretty bad stiuation here."

Or compare the Soviet claim that the U.S., by placing its atomic bases in foreign countries, is trying to "divert the principal retaliatory shock from the U.S." (which U.S. delegate Lodge dismissed as "transparent communist demagogery") with Walter Lippmann's assertion that this Soviet contention is "a powerful argument for neutralism."

It is so powerful that the Japanese government has been forced to promise that it will not permit U.S. atomic units in Japan.

BONN REACTION: The U.S.S.R.'s "powerful argument for neutralism" was also underlined in Bulganin's letter to Adenauer. Although for the most part it repeated long-standing Soviet proposals for German reunification, Bonn observers were intrigued by the letter's "very friendly tone." Washington was apparently alarmed by Adenauer's statement that several of Bulganin's points "might lead to fruitful discussions," and by the assertion of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee chairman, then visiting Washington, that "some sort of rapprochement with the Soviet satellites is in the works". It was demanded that Adenauer come in May rather than July as originally scheduled.

The fact is that W. German sentiment for dropping Bonn's alliance with the U.S., in favor of neutralization as a first step to reunification, is growing. **Newsweek** reported that a December survey showed 62% for neutrality while "Bonn residents polled at random agreed that NATO membership should be junked." Although Adenauer bitterly denied this and similar reports, he has been forced, with elections due this fall, to flirt with the neutrality idea himself. In an effort to avert what in its view would be catastrophe, Washington was promoting the idea of a Christian Democratic-Social Democratic coalition government after the elections. Social Democratic leader Ollenhauer, with whom this idea was reportedly discussed during his U.S. visit, might need little persuading.

NEUTRALITY GAINING: But Washington would need more than such a concept to counter the currents now developing in Western Europe. In Italy, the decision of Pietro Nenni's Left-wing Socialist Party to end its alliance with the Communists (without taking an anti-communist position) and to seek unification with the Social Democrats could be of great significance for the future. For Socialist reunification, especially if achieved before, or as a result of, the elections next spring, could unfreeze Italy's political rigidity, enforced by Christian Democratic control, and turn it toward neutralism. London's **Daily Telegraph** commented (2/11) that "if until recently there was no need to pay much attention" to proposals for neutralization of Germany and Central Europe, the Socialist decision in Italy made this no longer so. With elections in W. Germany this fall, Italy next spring, Britain before 1960, it saw the possibility of a "Left-wing swing" emerging in Europe with prospects for neutrality possibly "changing rapidly in a matter of months."

Such perspectives may be premature. What is certain is that the rigid cold war pattern imposed on W. Europe in the first post-war decade is already deeply eroded and that neither Washington nor its partners, so far, has any idea of an alternative. In this situation, coupled with the profoundly unsettled condition of world affairs, neutrality seemed to many the only hope for stability.

Now is the time

WE URGE EDITORS to look at the new revised "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" just published by the House Committee. It has added to the blacklist the **NATIONAL GUARDIAN** and **Jewish Life,** along with the vanished Progressive Party. Let them ask themselves whether we are going to allow the fungoid growth of an atmosphere in which it begins to be taken for granted that a Congressional committee—or any other agency of government—may decide which publications are subversive and which are not. Now, in this lull, when reaction ebbs and the battle would be easy, is the time to wipe out this excrescence on a free society.

I. F. Stone's Weekly, Jan. 28, 1957

Let's get our signals straight, boys

IN THE DEBATE held in the Assembly's Steering Committee to decide whether the UN should consider the U.S.S.R.'s charges that the U.S. has committed "aggressive acts threatening peace and security," Soviet delegate Kuznetsov pointed to this year's increases in the U.S. military budget. U.S. delegate Lodge replied that the budget "would drop very fast if there was an end to the aggressive pressure of the Soviet Union."

But Leon Keyserling, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, told the Senate Disarmament subcommittee last month (Washington **Post,** 1/18) that disarmament, with current increases in unemployment and shortfalls in production, would be "an act approximating suicide." It would, he said, give substance to Soviet contentions about "the vulnerability of the U.S. economy." He said the U.S. could not afford to disarm until it had achieved a much needed growth in its economy.

And if Lodge was unconcerned about the size of the budget, U.S. taxpayers were not. The N.Y. **World-Telegram** (2/14) reported from Washington: "The nation's housewives are up in arms about continued high taxes and government spending . . . Some members of Congress say they're getting more letters on high taxes and spending than any other subject."

A general declares for peaceful cooperation

The following letter appeared in the N. Y. Times of Jan. 15, 1957.

IF "there is no alternative to peace" (President Eisenhower, Geneva, 1955), how can there be any substitute for cooperation or negotiations for peace? Rule out violent conflict among nations and only these two remain. And it is obviously much easier to negotiate and cooperate before the crisis arises than later.

What informed and intelligent person really believes that the attack of England and France on Egypt would actually have come off had President Eisenhower met with Messrs. Bulganin, Eden, Mollet and Nehru in the early stages of the Suez crisis? Without intending any criticism of the regular diplomatic corps and the fine group of officers who staff it, is not the establishment of peace among the great powers really and truly the business of the first team? Secretary Dulles, however astute and clever, is not an adequate substitute for the President where the peace of the world is the issue.

Could the "cold war" have reached its present dangerous stage had the top leaders of the great powers held frequent meetings, regularly scheduled, for the purpose of discussing and resolving the great issues?

WAS NATO necessary to inform the Russian leaders that an invasion of Western Europe would mean war with us? They certainly know we fought Germany twice for this reason. And NATO, only a paper organization until quite recently, might actually have provoked an immediate attack on the West had the Russian leaders contemplated any such action.

Whatever the original purposes or hoped-for values of NATO and the Warsaw pacts, they now serve primarily as a means of preventing future "revolutions" or "counter-revolutions" within the areas they control a la Hungary. And may not the recent mistakes of Eden and Mollet have consisted primarily of unsuccessful attempts to free the foreign policies of their respective countries from outside domination?

Was any declaration of the Congress necessary to convey to Mao Tse-tung the idea that he could not successfully invade Formosa without first destroying the Seventh Fleet? This point, according to the record, was rather clearly established by President Truman at the beginning of the Korean War. Is a similar declaration now needed, as suggested by Mr. Dulles, to inform the Russian leaders that open aggression against any nation in the Middle East means war with us?

DON'T THEY already know this? No such declaration was necessary for them to leave Iran after World War II. And if they do not know this, is not the proper place at which to inform them the conference table, not before the press and in front of the grandstands? Why endanger peace or destroy all possible cooperation by public threats?

At the conference table it might even prove possible to reach an agreement for pooling economic resources in a cooperative effort, under United Nations direction, for improving conditions for all the people of that oil-rich area as suggested recently by Senator Humphrey. The Dulles proposal, if and when adopted, will automatically close the doors of cooperation. This is the fatal weakness, the great tragedy of the Dulles proposal, as of the Truman Doctrine before it, and with all the many military alliances. Without Russian cooperation there can be no permanent peace in the Middle East or the world because exclusion is intolerable in international as well as personal relations.

Whether we like it or not, and most Americans obviously do not, we are in the same world with the Communists—now a greatly shrunken one—and that means we must learn to live with them on a cooperative basis, and they with us, and the millions of other people, both those who only yesterday were not masters in their own houses and those who are today not yet free. Deplore it we may, but accept it we must if we would not lead the world to a fission and fusion end.

HUGH B. HESTER,
Brig. Gen., U.S. Army (Retired).

GEORGIA OASIS ATTACKED

Racists seek to destroy interracial communal farm

By Eugene Gordon

KOINONIA FARM, embracing 1,100 acres of southern Georgia's Sumter County, was conceived by Clarence Jordan and three like-minded friends nearly 15 years ago as an experiment in Christian communism. "'Koinonia," from the Greek, means a community. Its 60 white and Negro members today—defying their enemies to kill the cooperative either by ostracism or violence—give their labor "each according to his ability" and share their profits "each according to his needs."

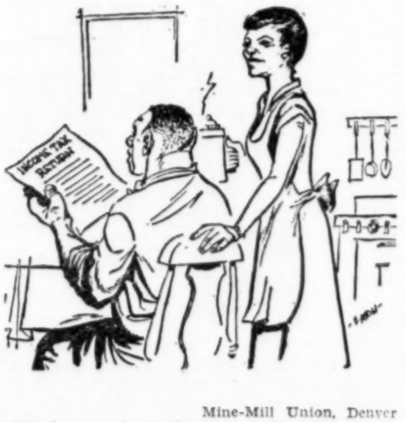
Dave Dellinger, a member of the Glen Gardner (N.J.) Cooperative Community and an editor of the independent monthly **Liberation**, wrote after a recent visit to Koinonia that the members "have no class division between managers and workers or between skilled and unskilled . . . no hierarchy of leaders or elected rulers, but make all important decisions by unanimous consent in group assembly."

HOW THEY WORK: Koinonia has always been regarded suspiciously by some: by most, however, it has been accepted as a unique force for community betterment. The community has seen the cooperative's white and Negro members' helping a hostile neighbor rebuild his burned-out barn. Neighbors have shared the cooperative's abundance when their individual efforts barely got them by; have benefitted from the cooperative's joining them in their fight for paved roads and rural phones. Its model farm—based on scientific erosion control and breeding methods—was never an ostentatious "showcase" but a demonstration and training center for all who wished to come. Dellinger wrote:

"As a result, the level of the whole surrounding area was improved. In a county in which egg production has not been considered profitable, Koinonia introduced new methods and then graded and sold its neighbors' eggs until they could gradually take over for themselves. Now the county has the highest egg production in the state."

THE BOMBING: On Jan. 14 Koinonia Farm's Roadside Market was bombed for the second time within six months. The first was on the night of July 23, 1956, when a bundle of dynamite sticks, thrown into the market from a passing car, exploded and destroyed goods and equipment valued at about $3,000. Koinonia Newsletter No. 10 reported from Americus, Ga.:

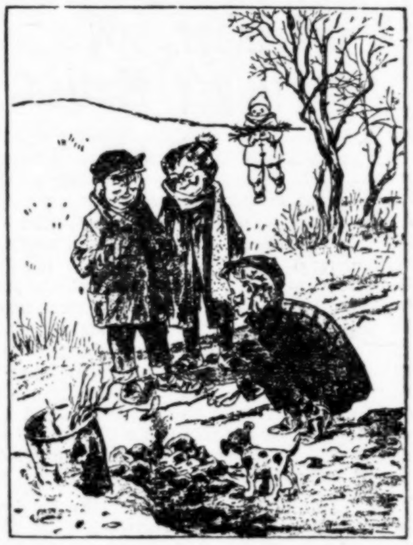
"Our entire supply of about 125 smoked hams and large quantities of bacon, sausage, tongue, etc., were lost. Quite a number of orders had been packaged and were to be mailed the following morning. We lost all of our refrigeration and cold storage equipment, as well as processing equipment and supplies for curing meat. Over 100 pounds of shelled pecans, a large quantity of shelled peanuts, honey, popcorn, syrup, eggs and other products went up in the flames."



Mine-Mill Union, Denver

"It's been a long time since I've filled out a form that didn't ask what color we are."

HOSTILITY: Who started the violence? Those who did apparently decided that their opportunity had come when Jordan agreed to recommend two Atlanta Negro young men to enter Georgia State College of Business Administration. The Governor himself phoned the Sumter County sheriff to ask who "this Jordan fellow" was. The local paper said Jordan, who is white, was trying to get Negroes into Georgia State. Papers elsewhere repeated the tale, the substance being that Koinonia conspired with outside agencies to overthrow Georgia's democratic way of life. Dellinger wrote that reprisals came "not from Koinonia's neighbors but from the local political machine."



Pittsburgh Courier

"You guys hear the news? They're gonna let colored kids come to our school. Now I bet'cha we'll have a REAL ball team this spring."

The Koinonia newsletter said Sheriff Chappell informed Koinonia by phone of the Jan. 14 bombing. When Jordan and a companion arrived, "there were gathered there about 40 white people, including officers and state patrolmen," none of whom greeted the two. Nobody was attempting to stop the spread of fire to the dry grass and the beehives.

Three days later "the phone rang just before noon and a voice said: 'Tell Clarence [Jordan] to be on the watch tonight and to be careful'." Despite the doubled guard, "about 2 a.m. the watchman saw flames from one of our houses leaping into the sky." Because it was about a half mile from the cluster of community buildings, "and because we thought it might be an attempt to lure the men away from the main community," nobody approached it until daylight. The sheriff was notified "but he never came."

"A DEEP, ABIDING JOY": The Americus **Times-Recorder** reported that the Americus and Sumter County Ministerial Assn. unanimously adopted a resolution deploring and condemning "the use of violence in any form against property and/or persons because of personal beliefs which do not endanger the rights of others." The Koinonia newsletter added:

"The loss of the Market is a serious blow, not only because of the actual loss but because it deprives us, at least temporarily, of what was developing into one of the major sources of income. We cannot tell how soon we shall be able to get materials. Our manpower is limited, and it is extremely difficult to get materials .. . . Laughter is frequent among us, and there is a deep, abiding joy, even though there are, at times, evidences of fatigue and strain. We have ample food, clothing and shelter . . ."

Un-German activities

This week's silliest story—apart from the goings on at London Airport on Sunday evening—comes via "Die Welt," from Goettingen, where some of the city fathers recently discussed whether two unnamed squares in the town might be named after Albert Einstein and Thomas Mann. The spokesman of the far right-wing Deutsche Reichspartei boldly denounced both of them as "un-German," and the dispute was only resolved when some compromising genius suggested that the squares were not really "squares" at all, but only "cross-roads." With sighs of relief, no doubt, this judgment of Solomon was handed on to the relevant department, and there the matter rests.

—**Manchester Guardian, Feb. 6**

Go Far East, young man!

Bill Knowland of California will quit the Senate at the end of his term. There's some doubt whether he'll run for President of the United States—or archduke of Formosa.

Willie Walleye in the
Minneapolis Tribune, Jan. 10

For February Twenty-third

Wherever we are this day, wake up
and celebrate
our own glowing fortune, our luck at
living in his time.
Come, help ourselves,
all jubilate his holiday, his everyday,
his years!
Whose?
Why, the man with stars in his pockets
down here, on earth, lighting up the
sky,
pacing us all,
rocking and resting us all,
shaking with mirthful tears at the
terrible triumphant only race on
earth—
the human—
here, mark his formula for more much
more than money,
learn the secret of his true magicianship:
knowledge plus passion equals
an infinite capacity for love to grow.
Oh follow this man with stars in his
pockets,
the pied piper of peace
releasing doves in his wake,
rainbows of many-colored grace.
Tomorrow knows his name.
And grateful yesterday.
And dearest of all today, happy
birthday,
our cavalier of hope,
most high irreverence,
eminence extraordinary,
envoy of life,
our gleeful giant,
W.E.B. DuBois.

—Eve Merriam

McAVOY CHAIRMAN

Socialist Unity group is formed for N. Y. area

WITH THE DECLARATION that "we believe America needs a new socialist organization," a Committee for Socialist Unity announced its formation last month with an invitation for members. Provisional officers of the new group are Clifford T. McAvoy, chairman; Robert Claiborne, vice-chairman; and Mike Zaslow, secretary. Headquarters are at 229 Seventh Av., New York City. The new committee grew out of the Socialist Unity Forum which has conducted a series of public discussions this winter.

The committee announced that its activities will be limited to the New York area but expressed the hope "that others will follow our example elsewhere."

COMMON GROUND: Long-range hope of the Committee is for a united socialist movement but it concedes that this is a complex and problematical matter at the moment; its immediate aim is to provide a common meeting ground for some thousands of former members of the Progressive Party and other organizations who today belong to none.

A brief seven-point provisional program sets forth the ultimate goal of socialism which it defines as "a system of public ownership in which production is planned and controlled by the people and their elected representatives." Other points include opposition to war and colonialism; for full development of democracy under the Bill of Rights and for repeal of all restrictions on civil liberties and civil rights; for development of an independent political party.

On the international scene the program rejects "the notion of infallibility for socialists in power or out and reserves the right to criticize any action of socialist states or organizations we believe contrary to socialist principles."

NOT A RAID: For the conduct of its own affairs, the program declares: "We believe the new socialist organization should be broadly democratic in structure. The rule of the majority should determine policy and action, but should not be a curb on the expression of minority opinion."

The new group does not attempt to spell out a detailed plan for its own development but foresees the possibility that a strong group in New York might be emulated elsewhere with an eventual conference to found a national organization. The organizers say their aim is not to raid existing organizations but to spur a unification in which they may join or, failing that, to lay a substantial foundation for the new movement.

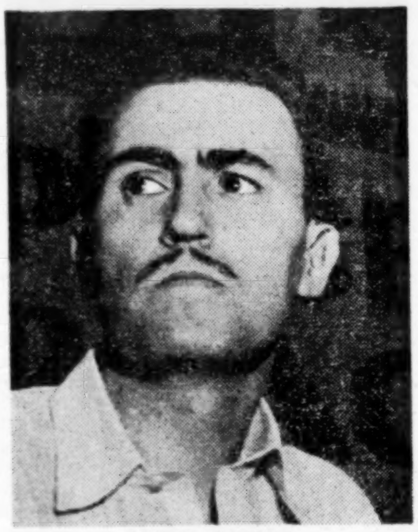
Activities planned for the New York area include forums, lectures and public meetings on important issues. The Committee considers the prospect of a united socialist ticket in the Fall mayoralty election a possibility.

NEW YORK, FEB. 23

Met Music School Negro History concert

THE Metropolitan Music School on Saturday, Feb. 23, will present a Negro History Week concert in Town Hall, Manhattan, celebrating the Negro's contribution to American music. Carol Brice, contralto, accompanied by Jonathan Brice at the piano, will sing spirituals and Negro secular songs arranged by Harry T. Burleigh, Roland Hayes, Hall Johnson and Edward Boatner. Participating will be Leonid Hambro, pianist, and the Westchester Interracial Fellowship Chorus, conducted by David Katz.

Negro folk music, music by Negro composers and by white composers making creative use of Negro folk material spanning more than a century, will be featured.



JAMES MATLES
The professionals had a victim

DENATURALIZATION CASE

U. S. dredges up old labor spy to finger Matles

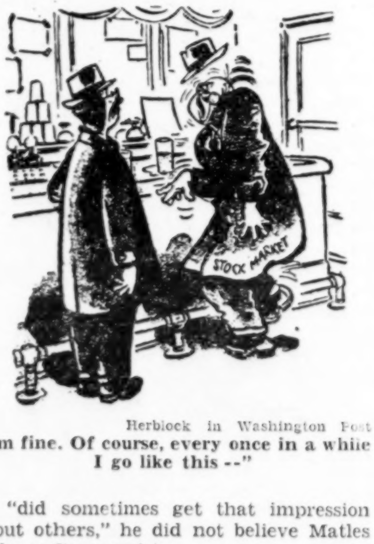
IN THE DEPTH of the Hoover depression Ray Carlucci, alias Tony Sandy, was a labor spy and professional strikebreaker. He fingered employes trying to organize unions, joined picket lines to spy on striking bakery workers, machinists and metal craftsmen, got his pay from union-busting "detective" agencies. The Steel and Metal Workers union kicked him out during negotiations at the Brooklyn Merganthaler Linotype Co. plant in the 30's. A few years later he turned up in the National Maritime Union, where he was exposed, tried and expelled for his role in an attempt of the New York shipowners to capture control of the union.

The NMU leadership got the lowdown on Carlucci from James J. Matles, then and now director of organization of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers and formerly an organizer of the Metal Workers union.

REAPPEARANCE: Last month Carlucci turned up again, this time as a Dept. of Justice witness in denaturalization proceedings against Matles, climaxing four years of attacks on the UE leader's citizenship similar to the government's 15-year campaign to deport West Coast labor leader Harry Bridges. Carlucci testified that Matles in the '30s urged metal workers to "get ready for the revolution."

Also arrayed against Matles were Maurice Malkin, paid government witness in some 50 political and immigration cases; and Joseph Zack Kornfedder, who has been a professional witness since denaturalization proceedings were terminated against him in 1938. Malkin's last appearance in denaturalization proceedings —in Calif. last year against Rose Chernin Kusnitz—resulted in the case being thrown out of court. Kornfedder testified he saw Matles at a Communist Party Convention in 1930, but later testified to being in Moscow at the time the convention in question was being held in the U.S.

STEELMAN DEPOSITION: Matles' defense began Feb. 4 and recessed Feb. 13 until the following week. A highlight was a deposition in Matles' behalf by Dr. John R. Steelman, from 1937-44 director of the U.S. Conciliation Service and later presidential assistant to both Truman and Eisenhower. Dr. Steelman, now a Washington industrial consultant, recalled Matles well as "one of the young, energetic, able labor leaders" of the period 1937-42 and said that, far from being disruptive and seeking to slow down war production (as the government has charged) Matles seemed mainly concerned with winning "good and fair settlements" of labor disputes and sought to expedite such settlements. Although he "did sometimes get that impression about others," he did not believe Matles to be a Communist.



Herblock in Washington Post
"I'm fine. Of course, every once in a while I go like this --"

Later UE President Albert Fitzgerald testified that in the 20 years he had known him, Matles had never told him he was a Communist, that on the contrary he had told Fitzgerald he was not.

A succession of UE local officers and rank and filers testified for Matles, too, none believing him to be a Communist but several stating that they would have supported him anyway. James Kennedy, a veteran of the Erie GE Local, recalled that at one time an Erie, Pa., CP secretary had been treasurer of the Erie local.

WAKE UP, WILLIE: The government counsel demanded to know whether the treasurer had ever advocated overthrowing the government by force and violence.

"No," Kennedy replied. "We used to have a saying in our executive board, 'Comes the revolution, we'll have to wake Willie up'. This was because he used to go to sleep at executive board meetings."

Although Federal Judge Bruchhausen admitted volumes of government documents against Matles and the UE, up to the time of recess he had ruled out Matles' defense efforts to put into the record a commendatory letter from President Roosevelt to Matles; withdrawal of Congressional charges of Communist domination against UE; U.S. Attorney McInerny's statement of 1952 disclaiming any evidence of perjury by UE officials signing Taft-Hartley affidavits; and Matles' own T-H affidavits filed each year since 1949.

THE CASE OF PETROS MOUTSOS

U. S. seeks to send another seaman to Greece — and prison or death

IN OCTOBER, 1955, Petros Moutsos, a 24-year-old Greek seaman, tall, well-built and good-looking, walked off his ship, the S.S. Ionian Messenger, in Norfolk, Va. As a seaman he had 29 days to spend in the United States. He spent most of that time in Baltimore where he met, fell in love with and married Angela Boyer, a young American girl.

He settled down in Baltimore as a house painter. Last Dec. 10, a few days before his first anniversary, Moutsos went aboard a ship in Baltimore harbor to chat with some old friends in the crew. Immigration agents seized him aboard the ship and whisked him to New York. An unusually high bail for immigration cases, $5,000, was set and Moutsos, unable to raise it, was taken to the West St. House of Detention.

HOUNDED: Immigration officials held a hearing in the prison and found Moutsos deportable, though it did not rule out the possibility of granting him the right to voluntary departure to another country that might accept him. That was left to the Immigration Department's discretion, should his deportation order stand. On Dec. 28 Moutsos' in-laws and friends raised his bond and he was freed.

But he has been hunted ever since. He has been picked up, held for several hours and released only when his lawyers demanded it. He never knows when agents may seize him again. He and his wife recall the fate of other Greek seamen, snatched from their homes and put aboard a plane for Greece within a matter of hours.

FATAL PROSPECT: Greece, for Moutsos, can mean death. He is a member of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions which, though it counts a great many seamen in its membership, is illegal. Its members and officers have been jailed, sent to concentration camps on lonely rock islands off the coast of Greece, or executed.

At the hearing in jail and subsequently at the Immigration Appeals Board hearing, officials had one major charge: Moutsos refused to discuss his political beliefs or affiliations. They did not charge that he was a member of the Greek Communist Party but only that he has refused to deny it.

They accused him of membership in the Greek seamen's union, objected to his "attitude," said he had sold subscriptions to two newspapers, the **Neftergatis,** a union publication, and the **Greek-American Tribune.**

ADVERSE RULING: The exhibits offered against him were mastheads and clippings of the two newspapers he was accused of supporting though the papers were not shown to be "subversive." On such grounds the hearing officer ruled that the Department would not allow him to stay, though the law provides that the husband of an American citizen can be given such permission at the Department's discretion.

Moutsos' lawyers brought the case before Judge Archie O. Dawson of Federal District Court on Feb. 14. Judge Dawson had only one point which he used to hammer down the case for Moutsos: he was an alien seeking "with hat in hand" permission to live here and still he refused to answer the $64 question.

The Court seemed scarcely to listen to the defense counsel's other points. Death in Greece seemed far away, though the Board of Immigration Appeals has said in its opinion that Moutsos belonged to an organization—his union—in which membership might be punishable by death.

FUNDS NEEDED: The Court dealt only with the hard legal fact that Moutsos had overstayed his leave in this country and did not temper it as the late Circuit Court Judge Jerome Frank did when he stayed another deportation last July, ruling: "Illegal entry into this country should not be punished by death."

Last week Moutsos was still awaiting Judge Dawson's decision and the swift action that might come from Department agents. If the Dawson ruling goes against him—and if the Department agents can be kept at bay—the case will go to the Court of Appeals, then perhaps to the Supreme Court.

Moutsos, his family and friends, were hard pressed financially for the long fight to save him. They have asked that all those wishing to help send funds to: Defense of Petros Moutsos, c/o the American Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, 23 W. 26 St., N.Y. 10.

Still doing business at the same old stand

Nine high-ranking German air force officers arrived today for an extensive inspection tour of the area's military bases and industrial installations.

Just 11 years after VE-Day, they represent the new German air force. It's a group that is badly needed by the free world to help defend Europe against any Communist attack.

—Los Angeles **Mirror-News,** 1/18/57

"ARE YOU NOW OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A CATHOLIC?"

Northern Ireland: Can partition ever be ended?

By Cedric Belfrage

BELFAST

I DROVE NORTH with Jack MacGougan, a level-headed Protestant labor leader who is on the Irish Labour Party executive and, in this Northern "capital," represents a Catholic working-class district on the city council. Ireland's busiest artery was eloquently deserted—a condition, he assured me, only slightly intensified by the post-Suez gas rationing. Drogheda and the little Boyne River recalled the Cromwellian massacres and the long, bloody chronicle of Irishmen fighting on both sides for cynical foreigners. An I.R.A. slogan remained on a wall there from the recent election in which the I.R.A. candidate—then and still in jail—drew huge meetings and almost no votes.

The border was marked by nothing but two customs sheds by the highway, not even a fence; there are no formalities at all, I was told, for crossing on foot, although many roads have been blocked and vehicles must pass by approved routes for inspection. Not a soldier was in sight, and the first policeman was a "B Special" —one of Northern Ireland's 11,500 part-time cops recruited from fanatical anti-Catholics—standing with a Sten gun outside the Orange Lodge in Newry. (In Belfast, there was not even a guard at the gate of the big British army barracks.)

ORANGE BIGOTS: Among a profusion of small factories, linen lay bleaching in the fields at the approaches to Portadown, the center of that industry (the United Kingdom's second biggest dollar-earner after Scotch whisky.) There a wall said: "No Surrender — God Save the Queen." This is the Protestant industrial community, mustering but a handful of Labour votes, where they still tell of the local Orangeman's protest to a preacher who mentioned the Virgin and Saints in a prayer: "As long as we men have our health and strength, there'll be no saints or virgins in Portadown."

Approaching Belfast through Lisburn, the scene of a terrible anti-Catholic pogrom in 1920, MacGougan said: "That's what we fear may happen again, if Protestants get killed in these I.R.A. raids. We're sitting on a powder keg here. The trouble with us Irish is that our hearts are bigger than our heads." When the I.R.A. killed a Northern Ireland cop last month, Protestant Belfasters had been asking ominously in the pubs: "Was he one of ours or one of theirs?" (Fortunately, he was a Catholic.)

All labor leaders are fearful that, just when a Provisional United Trade Union Organization is beginning to function in Ireland, the renewed I.R.A. activity might set the movement years back by re-opening the split between Protestant and Catholic workers. Realistic Labourites now give the provisional unity organization an "outside chance" of becoming permanent.

For an American cold-war alumnus, it is an odd feeling to be in a place where the crushing of civil liberties is symbolized by the question: "Are you or have you ever been a Catholic?" This is what a candidate for the Orange Order, which runs the machine of day-to-day bigotry here, must answer in the negative or fall under suspicion of "disloyalty." The bigotry which buttresses partition is openly incited by a government which indulges in shameful electoral abuses and gerrymandering (on top of the "giant gerrymander" of partition itself), which victimizes Catholics in employment, housing and social services, and which clamps down the lid with officially-promoted mob violence and police powers equivalent to those in Nazi Germany.

WORKERS' DOUBTS: Over 100 Northern Ireland Catholics have been jailed without charge or trial in recent round-ups of nationalist suspects. Yet the mass of Catholic industrial workers here, who must be decisive in healing the scar of partition, are full of doubts about the uniting of Ireland, no matter by what means. Admirers of the I.R.A. are as scarce as hen's teeth in Belfast labor circles. The reasons are complicated and lie deep in the history of English misrule; but it is hard to persuade Northerners of whatever religion or of none that unity would not further depress their economic conditions, poor as these now are by comparison with England. (There are 40,000 unemployed in Northern Ireland.) In Catholic Tyrone and Fermanagh especially, housing is medieval and a 1944 survey showed almost nine out of ten rural homes without running water.

THEY WANT TO PARTITION CYPRUS TOO

A British soldier is shown with his dancing partner at a fancy dress ball in Nicosia, Cyprus. The service revolver strapped to his pajamas is grim proof that Cypriots are not even allowing the British occupiers to dance in peace.

The Eire government cannot afford the social and medical services which—though Belfast's "government" would oppose them as strenuously as any Catholic bishop if it had jurisdiction in such matters—are available in the North with subsidies from London. Northern workers laugh when Sinn Feiners proclaim that Belfast's huge shipbuilding yards, now employing some 25,000 to build liners and aircraft-carriers for England, could be "kept busy building fishing vessels" in an all-Irish Ireland. As for the Protestants, they fall easily for the argument that a united Irish government would discriminate against them as the North now discriminates against Catholics. Eire's censorship and prohibition of divorce and birth-control do not make the picture more attractive. (Actually, despite such bishop-inspired legislation, the atmosphere in Dublin is far less oppressive than in Belfast.)

SMOKE SCREEN: But the more you listen to Northern and Southern arguments, the more you understand how this pot-and-kettle religious brawl sidesteps and smokescreens the real issues. Not far beneath lies a general consciousness of being Irishmen first, only intensified by such statements as the Northern Prime Minister's that "his" people are "not Irishmen but all Englishmen, Scotchmen and Welshmen"; and a historic militancy which only needs channeling with that patriotic spirit into constructive directions. Despite all the "religious" confusion, Irish Catholic workers remain, as James Connolly wrote in 1913, "rebels in spirit and democratic in feeling because for hundreds of years they have found no class as lowly paid or as hardly treated as themselves." (They have also stood consistently against involvement in war and war alliances; no Eire government has been able to put over a deal for a U.S. base on its territory.)

The most persuasive labor and nationalist spokesmen are convinced that unity as such—if Northerners' fears of a threat to their economic interests could be removed—appeals to the deepest instinct in all Irishmen except the Orange leaders and most reactionary bishops. The latter, who dare not openly support partition, fear above all the potentially progressive role of Northern industrial workers in a united Ireland.

THE POTENTIAL: The clearest element in the confusion is that as long as the Orange remains truncated from the Green, and the people divided on what are really sham religious issues, both parts of Ireland must move from bad conditions to worse. The Irish Labour Party, enmeshed in a coalition with Prime Minister Costello's Fine Gael right-wingers, which it should never have entered, is too irresolute to break away. It has a dismal record of leadership toward progressive unity. Its constitution still recognizes "the rights of private property." (Ireland's only organized socialists are the tiny Communist Party in the North and the Irish Workers League in the South.)

But within Ireland's labor movement one soon comes upon the potential for vigorous leadership toward serious solutions, for piercing through the fog of confusion and frustration. This element has shown mature statesmanship in resolutions on Suez and Hungary, and on the I.R.A. "campaign," recently passed by Northern and Southern branches of the Labour Party. The Provisional United Trade Union Organization has made a good start, within its mandate's restrictive terms, on the job of long-range planning for economic development and full employment. It has come out squarely for international labor solidarity and against Ireland's "association with groupings of Powers for warlike aims."

The circles in Dublin around James Larkin, the revolutionary hero's thoughtful and respected Labour MP son, and in the North around MacGougan and other young leaders, reflect the conviction of "old I.R.A." veteran George Gilmore who said to me: "Only a united effort by Northern and Southern workers can save Ireland." Gilmore recalls as the best day of the long fight against partition the 1936 pilgrimage to the grave of republican martyr Wolfe Tone, when Southerners bore the usual Tone slogan, "Break the connection with England," and several busloads of Belfast workers came with the banner: "Break the connection with capitalism."

IF DEV RETURNS: Some feel that bringing Orange and Green together in a temporary federal arrangement would help toward such a united effort, others that this would be fatal to it. A federal "solution" has been favored in the past by Eamon de Valera, 74-year-old leader of the "center" Fianna Fail, whose personal prestige remains high and whom the coming elections may well return to the national helm. The Sinn Fein is expected to contest nearly all seats (though its candidates boycott the Dail if elected) and its vote will measure popular support for the I.R.A. One recent "convert" from the I.R.A., a Belfast locomotive engineer now in the Labour Party, made me a bet that Sinn Fein wouldn't win a single seat, despite the apparent contrary evidence in recent pro-I.R.A. resolutions by city councils in "Tipperary and other God-and people-forsaken places." All agree with what a Mountjoy Prison warder told an I.R.A. man now held there, that if "Dev" wins "you boys'll get the works" in such a crackdown as retiring Prime Minister Costello could not hope to get away with.

Whatever the electoral verdict on the I.R.A., and if further "gun-and-bomb politics" does not produce disastrous consequences, most Irishmen will be grateful to the "freedom fighters" for forcing the tragedy of partitioned Ireland back into the headlines. No other method of breaking through the press curtain has ever seemed to work. In any case a solution without much greater blood-letting depends on winning new, active, hard-headed support from Irish-American and British workers.

Eisenhower, as a general, thought fit to guarantee partition on America's behalf in a speech accepting the "freedom of Belfast" after the war. British Labour, which will soon again be in a position to make restitution for centuries of ruling-class crimes against Ireland, was responsible in 1949 for the Ireland Act, promising never to end partition without the consent of the corruptly fatuous "government" for which English Tories built a palace outside Belfast.

AN IRISH NEW DEAL: Nothing can be done in the UN, since Northern Ireland is constitutionally part of the United Kingdom. Irish progressives want to open a massive public relations campaign to turn into a majority the small group of anti-partition Labour MP's at Westminster. At present even Aneurin Bevan is uncommitted on the issue.

If the case for an "Irish new deal" could be sold to British Labour, an all-Ireland government could come into being which would have the tools not only to heal the country's divisions and economic gangrene, but to bring on to the world scene a new and important force for peace and neutrality between "blocs." However confused the Irish patriots' counsels may be over how to end partition, here is a people sick, as is no other in the world, of fighting other people's battles. Meanwhile English soldiers "hardened," as the press says, "in battle conditions in Korea, Cyprus and Suez" continue to occupy the six counties.

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NEW SCARE HINTED

3 in spy case deny charges; Soble stricken

JACK AND MYRA SOBLE and Jacob Albam on Wednesday, Feb. 13, pleaded not guilty to a grand jury indictment charging them with conspiring to gather and transmit U.S. "defense" secrets to the Soviet Union. If convicted they could face death.

On Feb. 18 Jack Soble, singled out in the indictment as the key defendant, was found unconscious beside his prison cot. Rushed to Bellevue Hospital under heavy guard, his condition was called "psychogenic", that is, an ailment of mental origin.

The hearing before Judge Gregory F. Noonan in New York's Federal District Court in Foley Square had ominous overtones. The indictment itself hints obscurely of cloak-and-dagger meetings in cafes around the world with "individuals" and the transmittal of unspecified pieces of paper "with writing thereon." At the arraignment U.S. Atty. Paul Williams offered more hints which deepened but did not illuminate the air of mystery.

The indictment charged that the three had conspired to deliver "particularly information relating to intelligence and counter-intelligence activities of the United States government, and relating to the personnel, arms and equipment of the United States armed forces . . ."

A NEW SCARE? Williams seemed to forecast a sweeping new spies-in-government scare when he said that "it was necessary for certain of the co-conspirators to be employed by the U.S. government in various fields of intelligence and defense activity, both in this country and outside. This was, of course, to enable them to be in a position to acquire national defense information for transmission to U.S.S.R. representatives, and to prevent detection of their espionage activities the defendants employed fictitious names and used codes."

Williams pressed for continuing all three in $100,000 bail—a sum, he granted, which was probably beyond their means. Defense attorneys George Wolf for the Sobles and Harold O.N. Frankel, court-appointed to defend Albam, made no effort to reduce the bail. They termed the $100,000 excessive but said they wanted time to study the indictment further before applying for any bail reduction and suggested that the defendants be held without bail in the meantime.

A MATTER OF FLIGHT: Judge Noonan ordered them held without bond, adding: "I think that if the U.S.S.R. should be interested in their absconding, $100,000 would not hinder or stand in the way." All three, unable to raise their bond, had been imprisoned since their arrest at dawn on Jan. 25.

Although the defense did not argue for reducing the bail, U.S. Atty. Williams insisted, over defense objections, on stating his reasons for demanding high bail. He insisted there was "every indication that these people intended to leave the country and that they wanted to leave."

Wolf denied that the Sobles had planned to flee the country. He pointed out that Soble had applied repeatedly for his passport since 1952 because travel was necessary for his business and that he had not sought passports for his family. He indicated that fact would figure in a motion he would ultimately make on bail.

HEARING MARCH 11: Frankel said that Albam had never tried to leave the country. Williams admitted that was so but added: "He is an alien, however."

Judge Noonan set March 11 for a hearing on preliminary motions and a determination of when the trial might start. Wolf indicated that he would not be prepared to argue the defense until the end of April.

WHAT PRICE A REALLY FREE PRESS?

The Collier's story: It had 4,000,000 readers but it died!

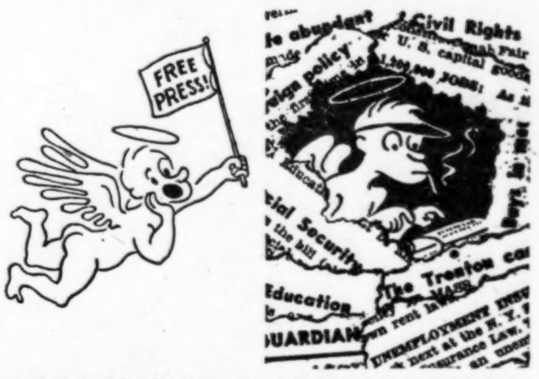
By W.E.B. Du Bois

TO ME THE MOST AMAZING happening last year was the failure of a magazine with four million circulation, It seemed fantastic. If the GUARDIAN secured a fourth of this circulation, would it suspend?* Just what was it that happened to **Collier's**? For what did more than four million persons pay to **Collier's** at least eight millions a year? Not all of them were clear as to their reasons; they wanted information, entertainment, pictures and news of goods for sale. Advertising men, schooled in modern psychological reaction, undertook to ascertain the current stock of goods for sale and to concoct methods of commending these to customers by word and display. For this service, they paid **Collier's** at least $15,000,000 a year.

Here are sums huge enough to pay for much service. Were the subscribers satisfied? Not entirely. They were unstable in number, and it was difficult to say how much goods they bought. They had to be cajoled and bribed. My morning's mail brings me a letter from **Life,** offering me 39 copies of this magazine for 10 cents, instead of the advertised price of 20 cents. The most respectable **Atlantic Monthly** offers my wife the next eight issues "for one-half of the regular price. What's more, you need send no money now."

Subscribers are an uncertain quantity and **Collier's** had to furnish luring bait to keep them. Remember their story of war with the Soviet Union? They were able to buy the cooperation of some of the highest names in science and literature in the nation for this indefensible splurge of dangerous propaganda. It must have cost a lot of money. Were the subscribers satisfied?

THERE MUST HAVE BEEN many of them who began to ask themselves, just what do I want from a periodical? If they wanted the news of the world, the current happenings and an intelligent interpretation of their meaning, based on historical knowledge, it would be clear to many that **Collier's** was not furnishing that information. Moreover, remembering the current amount of misinformation, the way in which we have been stampeded into foolish thought and action in the recent past, many subscribers must have wanted more reliable information than **Collier's** gave. We are an ill-informed nation; we were misled about the Chinese revolution; we never got the whole truth about Korea; we have been told all sorts of contradictory tales about the Soviet Union; we are today not clear about Hungary. Then, too, the Guild of Advertisers was not able to tell the sellers of goods just how far **Collier's,** as compared with a number of other magazines—and particularly as compared with television—was selling goods. It concluded—with just how much truth I do not know—that it could sell as large a bill of goods without **Collier's** as with it. It might even save money. So **Collier's** went the way of most magazines.



But the four million subscribers were left, and at least some of them must be doing some thinking. It would be well for these to turn away from the grab-bag method of subscribing. To be sure, we all want to buy goods and to know what is on the market. But what connection is there between refrigerators and the gathering and interpreting of news? If it be the Truth that I am after, what has Truth got to do with buying automobiles, cosmetics, or clothes? Or, in other words, what necessary connection has advertising and the gathering and interpreting of news?

SUPPOSE THAT, just for the sake of clarity, we separate the matter of buying and selling from the duty of learning the truth. We like to see reproductions of old paintings, scenes of travel and exploration. We need to read fiction and poetry, personal reminiscences and essays in history. But we do not need to assume that the same newspaper or magazine can furnish all this, especially when what it furnishes is paid for by General Motors and interpreted in such ways as Du Pont thinks is most profitable for its investments.

No! Subscribers need to grow up and separate their contracts and interests. Intelligent citizens need to know what is going on in this muddled world and to get this news straight and unslanted. Knowing the Truth, then each one can supply his own use for what he has learned. But if Truth comes to him already half falsified, he and no one else is the real sufferer. Moreover, there are thousands of persons who are capable of gathering and interpreting news with the sole purpose of getting at the truth of current life. These scholars and artists might be greatly increased in number and efficiency if our Schools of Journalism were not centers of sensational advertising and methods of private profit.

As it is, a reporter today is hired not to think or know, but to write what he is told and come to conclusions to which he is ordered. He is a part of "Big Business." On the other hand, thousands of American scholars and artists are starving to death because only those of them can get employment who are willing to say what the makers and sellers of goods think is profitable for business.

In other words, if we want a periodical which collects authentic news and hires unbiased and trained writers and artists to interpret this news, what must we pay for such a newspaper? We know, or by this time ought to know, that paying profits to advertising agents or buying toothpaste and electric razors does not mean that we will get news or honest opinion.

WHAT WILL A REAL ORGAN of news and opinion cost, which pays its way and does not attempt to live on doles furnished by Big Business? Just what should such a periodical cost? I imagine that if 25,000 persons should pay (not merely promise) $3 a month, such a periodical might exist, pay its way at union prices, and not find it necessary to beg for funds. Today, in order to rush news of an event the minute it happens or even before, we spend $99 for the task, even if the dispatch is a rumor or a lie and really costs but a dollar. We must have a sensation daily if not hourly. This waste may be saved.

We could put on the tables of 25,000 families each week a record and compendium of the news which would not a week later prove to be lies or mere advertising, or efforts to increase private profit at public expense. To give this service **daily** would cost each subscriber perhaps $15 a month. But why try to know all each day? What's the rush? What time would you have to read the Truth, and what would you do with it even if you had it? Once a week is enough. This service is not obtainable for less than $3 per person per month. Or if it is promised, it's paid for by organizations which cannot or will not deliver the goods. These subscribers might be individuals or groups; these groups might become centers of conference, study and lectures; they might restore civilization to this barren land.

In the unlikely event that more than 25,000 sane and solvent Americans should be found willing to pay the cost, then instead of dividing the surplus in "dividends" to persons who had given no services, intelligent cooperation from scholars, artists and research assistants might be hired at wages approaching those of bank vice-presidents to make the facts of the news intelligible and alive.

Universities used to do this, but they are now too busy with buildings and endowments designed to give Ph.D.s to morons to make and drop bombs and kill women and children.

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* *Thank you for asking, Doctor; we think we would survive the shock handsomely.*—Editor

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Labor's Daily

(Continued from Page 1)

few minutes for an ITU spokesman to state the case of **Labor's Daily**. Don F. Hurd, ITU secretary-treasurer, said his union could no longer carry the $400,000-a-year budget and was prepared to turn over the paper and its assets at cost to the AFL-CIO or any union or combination of unions wanting to keep it going.

Said Hurd: "It has not been supported by the labor movement. Someone ought to be able to take the paper on."

There was no official response from the Council, but **Labor's Daily** reported that "officials of two big industrial unions commented later that the entire labor movement needs a daily labor paper, which would be particularly useful for helping to organize the South. One official commented that several of the big unions should get together to co-sponsor **Labor's Daily.**"

Since then **Labor's Daily** has been editorializing on its plight, hoping for help from some quarter. On Feb. 2 it wrote that lack of support since its founding "is one of the saddest chapters in the history of organized labor," but that there is still time to re-write the story.

STONE WALL: It recalled that the AFL in three successive conventions endorsed the paper and recommended full support of all affiliated unions. "But the subscriptions didn't roll in. They drifted in at a snail's pace, one, two, and three at a time, and they were spaced far apart. Only on rare occasions was the subscription revenue in a given week sufficient to pay just the cost of the newsprint for that period."

On Feb. 5 the paper, after listing its services to the merged labor movement, said: "But from a financial standpoint **Labor's Daily** has been butting its head against a stone wall of indifference. No other single move the trade union movement could make today would strengthen its hand in its gigantic task of organizing the unorganized, winning strikes, pressing labor's program in Congress and the State legislatures, and in combating the never-sleeping anti-union forces throughout the land, as much as giving **Labor's Daily** the financial resources it needs to carry on the battle."

HELP! On Feb. 8 it made another appeal and cited the added power of the labor movement since its merger: **"Labor's Daily** is vain enough to believe that it has contributed to this increased strength and maturity, and that it has helped and can continue to serve as a weapon in labor's battles and as an indispensable means of communication—between leadership and rank and file, and between unions. The foundation stones of the AFL-CIO include **Labor's Daily.** If it falls out because of labor's apathy, the home of labor will be the weaker!"

Labor's Daily is well-edited, lively and readable, gives full and fair coverage to all of labor's battles, and in its first four years has demonstrated a crusading spirit. But as of last week there was no response from the labor movement to its plea for help.

MILLER AND DR. NATHAN INDICTED

Liveright convicted of contempt

HERMAN LIVERIGHT, a former TV program director in New Orleans, was convicted in Washington of 14 charges of contempt of Congress on Feb. 8. He had refused to answer questions about his political beliefs or associations before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), last March.

Liveright is the third of six persons, all cited for contempt at the same time, to be tried and convicted. The first two were Mrs. Mary Knowles, head of a Quaker library in Pennsylvania, and Robert Shelton, a New York **Times** copy reader. The three still to be tried are Alden Whitman and Seymour Peck, both **Times** employes, and William A. Price, former reporter for the N.Y. **Daily News** which dismissed him following his appearance.

Liveright was the first of the three convicted to be tried before a jury, which deliberated 30 minutes after a four-day trial. In his instructions to the jury, U.S. District Judge Richmond B. Keech said there was no evidence before it that Liveright "in fact has been connected with the Communist Party at any time or in any place." The only question to be decided, he said, was whether Liveright had refused to answer questions and if he had done so deliberately.

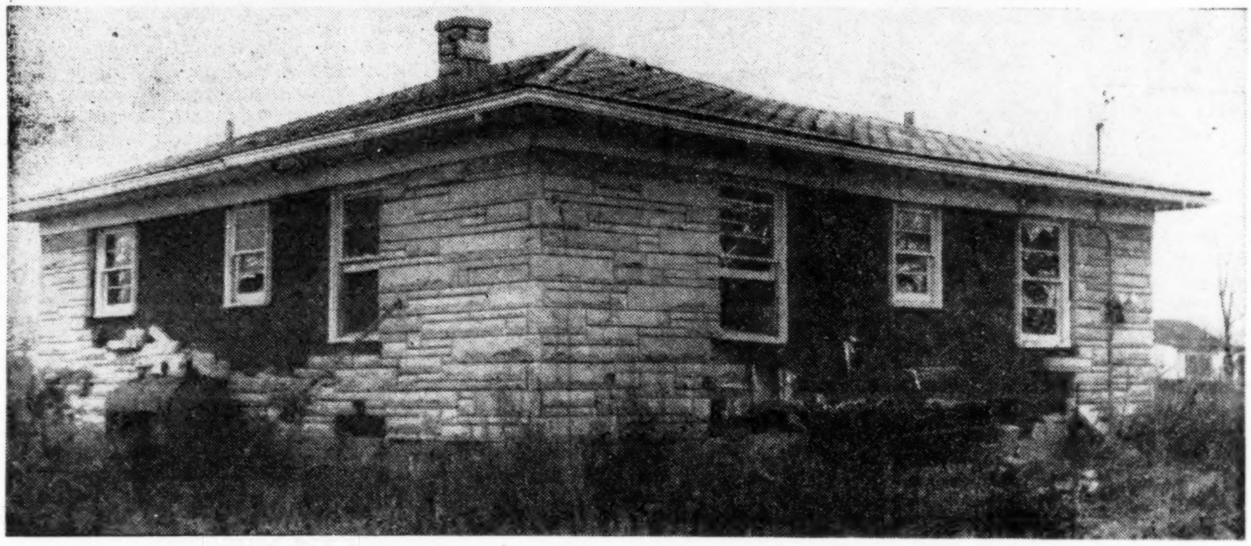
A CHALLENGE: Liveright had not invoked the Fifth Amendment, but had challenged the authority of the committee to question him about his political beliefs or other personal and private affairs. During the trial Robert Morris, chief counsel for the committee, testified that a "confidential informant" had named Liveright as an active Communist who was regarded as an "important asset" by the CP. Judge Keech ruled that the informer need not be named.

MILLER AND NATHAN: Playwright Arthur Miller and N.Y.U. professor of economics Otto Nathan were indicted for contempt last week. Miller had testified about himself before the House Committee on Un-American Activities but had refused to name names. Both had invoked the First Amendment. Nathan, friend of the late Albert Einstein and executor of his estate, had denied the right of the committee to inquire into the political beliefs of American citizens. He refused to answer questions about CP affiliation, though he was on record as having denied present or past connection. Arraignment was set for March 1.

GREEN AND WINSTON: Another civil liberties case was lost on Feb. 11 when a U.S. Court of Appeals in New York upheld three-year sentences for contempt of court for Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, convicted in 1949 under the Smith Act. Both had failed to surrender in 1951 to begin their five-year sentences under that conviction; they were given the added three years when they gave themselves up early last year.

NO LETUP IN LOUISVILLE CASE MISCHIEF

Bradens and Wades still being hounded



THIS IS THE WADE HOUSE NEARLY THREE YEARS AFTER THE BOMBING

By Lawrence Emery

IT IS ALMOST three years since a dynamite bomb shattered the new home of Andrew Wade IV, Negro electrical contractor, in the all-white community of Shively near Louisville, Ky. The bomb did more than wreck a house; it set off a seemingly endless chain of prosecutions that were still grinding their way through Kentucky courts last week.

In one of the latest developments, Carl and Anne Braden, white progressives who bought the home and transferred it to Wade, were faced with a Commissioner's recommendation that they immediately pay in full, with interest from May 7, 1954, an $8,000 mortgage on the property held by the South End Federal Savings & Loan Assn. of Louisville. In addition, they were adjudged to owe $1,891 plus interest on a second mortgage held by J. Ishmael Rone, builder of the house.

TECHNICALITY: Said the Wades and the Bradens, who have been under constant harassment since the bomb went off: "The real issue in this case is the Constitutional right of members of minority groups to live where they want to. Constitutional rights cannot be set aside by a mere technicality in a mortgage contract—a technicality designed to keep Negroes from occupying certain property. We shall carry this issue to the Supreme Court of the United States, if necessary. Our next step is to appeal [this] ruling to the Court of Appeals as soon as the judge adopts the Commissioner's report."

It is expected that Circuit Court Judge Stuart E. Lampe will base his final ruling on the Commissioner's recommendation. If he does, it will be the fifth time the Bradens will have gone to the State Court of Appeals on one or another aspect of their case.

The action for full and immediate payment on the mortgage loan was based upon a clause in the mortgage contract specifying "that no conveyance shall be made . . . upon said premises without the written consent of the [Loan] Association."

DESERTED HOUSE: Defense attorneys contend that this clause is a device to bar Negroes from acquiring property in "restricted" neighborhoods and as such is a violation of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which provides among other things that no State shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Mr. and Mrs. Wade, in their answer to the suit, charged that the foreclosure proceedings were intended to deprive them of whatever equity they had acquired in the property solely because of their race.

Because of the foreclosure suit, payment of insurance on the Wade home was blocked. The deserted house today, as the Negro weekly Louisville **Defender** described it, is "mute testimony to man's bigotry and prejudice. Choked by weeds, its flooring upheaved, this house represents one man's failure to be able to exercise his rights as an American citizen."

Wade in an earlier statement said: "We demand that our right and every Negro's right to the house of his choice be established. If the community of Shively had followed human decency and Christianity, they would have supported my right to live there, as in the case of Lt. Bauduit in California, where the newspaper and ministers practiced as well preached brotherhood." [The story of Lt. Bauduit in Garden Grove near Los Angeles was told in the GUARDIAN, Feb. 4].

THE RHINE CASE: Meanwhile, in another outgrowth of the Braden case, Henry Rhine, a government employe in the New Deal days and a long-time active trade unionist, was in the Kentucky courts. He had declined to answer questions before a recent grand jury under his constitutional privilege against possible self-incrimination.

Criminal Court Judge L. R. Curtis, who presided at the Braden sedition trial, ruled that Rhine was within his rights in refusing to answer questions concerning his acquaintance with Braden or attendance at meetings in Braden's home. County prosecutor A. Scott Hamilton has appealed this ruling.

In a brief filed with the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, Rhine's lawyer Robert W. Zollinger declares: "A long series of witnesses from among people acquainted with those named [in connection with the Wade bombing], principally from among those acquainted with Carl Braden, have been summoned before various grand juries, beginning with the grand jury for September, 1954. Hardly a month has passed for almost three years without some action being taken in connection with Carl Braden by A. Scott Hamilton, Commonwealth's Attorney for Jefferson County. . . . All of those named, many of their friends, those who appeared as witnesses for Braden—all have been impoverished through loss of jobs or business or through costly litigation made necessary by the determined efforts of the prosecutor for Jefferson County to avoid prosecution of the persons guilty of bombing the Wade home."

BARTENDER: Noting that Rhine himself has been reduced to tending bar in a second-class hotel, the brief observes that "there appears to be no end to this harassment and persecution."

The Kentucky Civil Liberties Union has also filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the Rhine case in which it says: "We hope this court will affirm the proposition that the privilege [against possible self-incrimination] exists for the protection of the innocent as well as the guilty, and that the claim of the privilege is therefore not an admission of guilt."

On the Gould Coast

Mrs. Florence Gould, widow of the late Frank Jay Gould who left a reported $80,000,000 when he died last April, has bought a new villa in the South of France—one of the show places of Cannes.

Mrs. Gould is keeping her villa, la Vigie, at Juan les Pins, the Riviera resort which her late husband virtually created. "I will use it for a beach hut," she explained.

NEW YORK

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First Meeting March 8th
Does America Need Socialism?
Ernie Mazey Harvey O'Connor
Joseph Starobin
Hamilton Hotel 8 P.M.
Admission 90c — (Students 50c.)

Subscription tickets for the Spring Lectures are available at Eugene Debs Forum, Room 504, 208 N. Wells, for $3.

Insure American participation in 6th **WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL** in Moscow July 28-Aug. 11. **First meeting,** Midwest Festival Committee, **Fri., March 8,** Hamilton Hotel, Parlor "A," 20 S. Dearborn, 8 p.m. Adm. 50c. Movies of 5th Festival.

"TRUE FRIENDS," hilarious Cannes prize-winning Soviet musical film about three bureaucrats floating down a river on a raft. Also new documentary. Film Forum at Chopin Club, 1547 N. Leavitt, Sun., Mar. 10, 3 p.m. Adm. 90c.

Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students, Moscow, July 28-Aug. 11. American delegation forming now. All-inclusive tour from Chicago as little as $495 (maximum price, $650.) Information from Midwest Festival Committee, Room 403, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 2, Ill.

San Francisco

MIKE GOLD'S Writers Workshop **Wednesday, 8 p.m.** also his lectures, **Fri.,** Mar. 1, "Jack London;" Fri., Mar. 8, "Maxim Gorky;" Fri., Mar. 15, "Walt Whitman;" all at 8 p.m., 321 Divisadero Street.

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New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Avenue) **"KAMERADSCHAFT,"** Feb. 23. G. W. Pabst's finest film, depicting the universal comradeship of workingmen that transcends national boundaries. This print has the final sequence which is sometimes missing. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1, nonmembers, $1.25. Next week **"MY UNIVERSITIES"** (USSR)).

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein
will discuss
HARDY AND MEREDITH
Novelists of the Twilight
8-10 p.m.
Monday, February 25th
Penthouse 10-A 59 W. 71 St.
Single Admission: $1.50
(Registration for Thursday
Shakespeare classes closed))

A SALUTE TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE
Proceeds to the Montgomery struggle. "The Negro People, American Democracy and Socialism," **DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS** and **CLARK FOREMAN.** Thurs., Feb. 28, 8:30 p.m., at True Sisters Clubhouse, 150 W. 85 St. Sponsor: **WEST SIDE CITIZENS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM.**

REMBRANDT AT POLONIA CLUB
"Life of Rembrandt," Sat. evening, Feb. 23rd and Sun. Matinee, Feb. 24th, 3:30 p.m. Korda production with Charles Laughton's Academy Award performance. Polonia Club, 201 Second Av. (near 12 Street.)) — Admission free.

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Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N. Y.

Toward a Program for America!

CAREY McWILLIAMS
Editor, **The Nation,** on "The Independent Voter and the Two-Party System."

JOSEPH STAROBIN
Ex-Foreign Editor, **Daily Worker,** on "The Future of American Radicalism."

Friday, March 1, 8 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.). Contrib: $1. Auspices, **American Socialist.**

Don't miss this Meeting!

* * * * *

SPECIAL: Mr. Starobin will include in his talk a brief analysis of the recent Communist Party Convention.

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Books and Publications

BOOKFAIR'S BARGAIN OF THE WEEK: "Mirror in My House," by Sean O'Casey. All six volumes of O'Casey's great autobiography in a handsome two-volume boxed set. Purchased individually, the total cost of these volumes would be $28. **LAST CHANCE AT THIS PRICE:** $16. Add 30c for shipping. Send for our new sale list. **BOOKFAIR,** 113 W. 49 St., New York 19, N.Y. — JU 2-3195.

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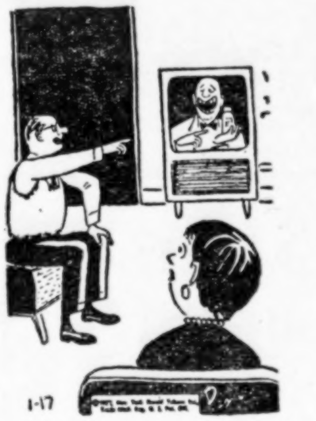

N.Y. Herald Tribune

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Baited hook

ONE of the less lovely transitions of the Electronic Age has been the pitchman's shift from carnival to television. Almost any night, during breaks in old Frankie Darro movies, you can find a dapper, fast-talking man on the screen offering special, super-duper bargains with no money down, no risks and extra bonuses if the viewer immediately rises from his chair and calls the number flashed on the screen.

The pitchman himself is not necessarily a menace. Some may even be amused by his glib patter, although they never buy. But sometimes he may be pitching for unscrupulous companies who use him for "bait advertising."

THE FRIENDLY FELLOW: Beware when the friendly man advertises a "rebuilt" appliance of a well-known manufacturer at a very low price. His line is temptingly baited. The company wants your name and address to send a high-pressure salesman to your home. When he comes he will deprecate the item you have seen on television and then try to sell you a more expensive piece by an obscure manufacturer at a much higher price.

Once they know you are in the market for an appliance they will continue to pester you.

The Better Business Bureau of New York, which investigates unethical advertising, in its **Monthly Memo** for January reports its findings on a company that advertised "Rebuilt Singer Sewing Machines" on TV. It says: "Many of these 'rebuilt Singers' turned out to be old Singer treadle sewing machine heads, many 50 or 60 years old, converted into electrical machines of which this head is the only Singer part."

YOUR OWN WATCHDOG: Last month the Supreme Court of New York handed down a decision against a group of TV advertisers who had offered "Rebuilt Electrolux Vacuum Cleaners" which consisted only in small part of Electrolux equipment. The court condemned "bait advertising" which it defined as offering "an article of a well-known trade name at an attractive price for the purpose of luring prospects with the object of diverting them from the advertised goods by disparagement or otherwise and inducing them to purchase the products of manufacturers other than the one identified by the advertised trade name. Bait advertising is unfair to the public and to the owner of the advertised name."

Not all states police advertising carefully and many radio and television stations, eager for the advertising buck, permit any kind of advertising copy. The consumer must be his own watchdog.

The best place to buy an appliance is at a reliable discount house where you get new, standard brand merchandise and where the price is lower because the owner is willing to take a smaller profit.

—Robert E. Light

LOS ANGELES

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GUARDIAN's
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SATURDAY EVENING, MARCH 30th

$15 per person • Red Callendar and his orchestra

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Vets rights

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Some of our disabled veterans have had their rightful benefits cut off for political reasons, others have been denied equitable benefits because of political prejudice or other arbitrary reasons. Veterans and friends should be interested in a new bill, H.R. 2526. The Veterans Security Act, which would provide equal benefits for all disabled veterans of any military service with rights of judicial review. This bill would halt the bureaucratic abuse of presumptive power now used to deny many deserving vets just and proper benefits. All GUARDIAN readers interested in veterans are invited to join in our campaign to support the enactment of H.R. 2562.

John L. Widner,
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Welcome 'Today'

SAPULPA, OKLA.

Accept my small contribution to strengthen the sinews of one of the best little papers published, which is now to be made better by the addition of "Today" by Anna Louise Strong, one of the best writers and news analysts of our time.

J. A. Mooney

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Thiamin HCL (B1)	3 mg.
Riboflavin (B2)	2.5 mg.
Pyridoxine HCL (B6)	0.75 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Ascorbic Acid (C)	50 mg.
Vitamin B12	1.5 mcg.
Folic Acid	0.34 mg.
d-Alpha Tocopheryl Acetate (Vit. E)	3 I. U.
Dicalcium Phosphate Anhyd.	747 mg.
Niacinamide	20 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate, Dried	45.56 mg.
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Each capsule contains:

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Vitamin B1	5 mg.
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Vitamin C	75 mg.
Niacinamide	40 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	4 mg.
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Folic Acid	0.5 mg.
Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhyd.	260 mg.
Choline Bitartrate	31.4 mg.
Inositol	15 mg.
di-Methionine	10 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate, Dried	102 mg.
Cobalt Sulfate	0.193 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohydrate	1.257 mg.
Manganese Sulfate, Dried	1.573 mg.
Sodium Molybdate	0.253 mg.
Potassium Iodide	0.099 mg.
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Zinc Sulfate, Dried	1.388 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate, Dried	21.583 mg.

the SPECTATOR

100 per cent

THE ENGINEER RICHARD FREYTAG WORKS WELL. He is respected at the nationally-owned Blattsilber works and is reasonably well paid. The factory manager likes him well enough; the chairman of the factory union branch, the Party secretary, the chief engineer all like him. The cleaning woman is pleased when he shakes her hand in such a friendly way and asks how she is.

The new head of the cadre department who started work two days ago studies Freytag's file. All is in order. No trace of a blemish. He's never late, doesn't waste time, fulfills his plan. There's nothing to take exception to. But the head of the cadre department had something against Richard Freytag. Something. Perhaps she doesn't like the shape of his nose—the devil alone knows. Anyway she can't stand him.

Richard Freytag likes working at the Blattsilber works. The contract is good and the work is pleasant. His colleagues are agreeable and obliging. He gets on well with the manager, the chairman of the factory union branch, the Party secretary and the chief engineer. Only the new head of the cadre department. He can't stomach her. Exactly why he doesn't know. She's just not his type. When he meets her on the stairs or in the restaurant his greeting is cool and formal.

The new head of the cadre department is offended. At the Party meeting she lets slip: "This Freytag is an out and out individualist." The Party secretary makes a mental note. A closer look must be taken at this Herr Freytag. Women have an intuition for such things. And when he meets Richard Freytag on the stairs, his greeting is no longer so warm.

THE NEW HEAD of the cadre department lives near the plant manager. Thus they share the same factory car. "Incidentally," says the cadre department head one morning, "this Freytag is downright arrogant." Then they talk about something else. But the manager doesn't forget the remark. Arrogance must be met with arrogance, he thinks to himself. And he is just not so amiable to Richard Freytag.

The new head of the cadre department is annoyed with the chairman of the factory union branch. He won't give her a pass for a union-subsidized holiday on the Baltic merely because she had one last year. "Naturally," she says, "your fine Herr Freytag can have a cheap holiday on the Baltic even though he has absolutely no contacts with the masses."

The chairman of the factory union branch has good relations with his colleague Freytag. But if the new head of the cadre department says . . . And so he informs friend Freytag by telephone that unfortunately his trip to the Baltic can't be fitted in.

"Tell me," says the new head of the cadre department to the chief engineer, "what kind of a fellow is this Richard Freytag? Don't you get the impression that he isn't one hundred per cent for our Republic?" The chief engineer only knows that Freytag works well and is a decent enough fellow. But if the new head of the cadre department feels that way . . . As a precaution he locks the most important documents in a safe to which only he has the key.

"MORNING, HERR FREYTAG," says the friendly cleaning woman. Richard Freytag stretches his hand out to her. "What's behind all this cold shoulder treatment they're giving you these days?"

The engineer stands stock-still. So he was right. Even the cleaning woman noticed something was afoot.

In Herr Freytag's desk lay an invitation from his old firm in Hanover. He had never answered it because he was attached to his job at the Blattsilber works.

Three days later the new head of the cadre department receives Freytag's resignation. She is indeed rather surprised but basically quite pleased. She can't stand that fellow. Four weeks later it is learned at the Blattsilber works that Engineer Freytag now works in Hanover—West Germany.

"There you are," says the new head of the cadre department. "There's your proof. I said right away that this Freytag was not one hundred per cent for our Republic."

Renate Holland-Moritz,
in EULENSPIEGEL, Berlin

AT ADELPHI HALL MARCH 1

McWilliams and Starobin in N.Y. forum

CAREY McWilliams, editor of **The Nation**, and Joseph Starobin, author, lecturer, former foreign editor of the **Daily Worker**, will speak at a forum in New York on Friday, March 1, in Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. McWilliams' topic will be "The Independent Voter vs. the Two-Party System," and Starobin will speak on "The Future of American Radicalism."

In calling the forum, the **American Socialist**, under whose auspices the meeting takes place, wrote in a letter to its readers:

"Doctrinal exaggerations and dogmas aside, what is the political scene really like, as it looks to most Americans? What forces for progress exist in it? How can the independent voter gain a leverage within the two-party system? What is happening to the Democratic Party? Can socialists make their voices heard, and if so, how? . . .

"There has been a lot of talk recently about Hungary, Poland, Russia, etc. Isn't it time now to turn our attention back to our own country and our own job here?"

The forum will begin at 8 p.m. Contribution, $1.